/124 cont./

Religion, that of reading and writing, and even the art of musical chords, which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands, and in those of Tarija, two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult, whenever he wishes, the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter, and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when, ecstatically, he contemplates the grandiose, strong, and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission, that of the elevated Machareti Mission, that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission, and the one which, as though by enchantment and with order, is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

All of this shows that the Chiriguano, in spite of his indolence, is docile, and with gentleness and a little strictness at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that, though he does have his vices and defects, certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching, with civilization, as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant, or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key, a lock, or any other object.

/125/

Philanthropy

To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with Chiriguano religion, I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the harshness of imprisonment, they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may have to obtain it. If someone is sick, he is visited by many; if one is left an orphan, all are his fathers, mothers, grandparents, and brothers and sisters, or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

771 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

796 795

[805] [791] [192]

1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 791 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/205 cont./

584

Method of Contracting a Marriage

[581] The Indian has many ways to conclude a naturally legitimate marriage. He must in the first place have good qualities as a hunter and worker. When he has selected the one who is to be the pearl of his eye and has enough courage to ask her parents for her personally, he makes his visits at night to the family /206/ of his intended. These visits are silent until [583] the old people ask him the reason for his coming. The young man at first is confused in his answers, but if he observes by the kindness of the questions that there is a thread of hope, he returns and from time to time makes gifts of maize, cheese, and fruits of his labors, such as gourds, beans, and birds hunted by him.

If the young man's manner pleases the old people, they do everything possible to get their daughter to consent, but often the suitor loses everything, either because the old people do not like him or because she abhors him. This last case happens particularly when the suitor is somewhat older (1).

[581] [579]

1. Among the Chiriguano nothing is appreciated but the manliness of a man and his goodness: looks, wealth, and the nobility of the house are of no value whatsoever.

When the young man is pusillanimous, a third person is used, as is done in every country. The third party also presents himself at night to smoke his cigar and explain the reason for his visit from the first night on, and naturally everything 584 cannot be arranged on the first night. He must come back 583 repeatedly, and meanwhile there must be no lack of gifts for the future parents-in-law. The suitor customarily also brings bits of firewood collected every morning at dawn, which the older people put into the room, whether the marriage is concluded or not (?).

584

2. Each day the person charged with making arrangements for the marriage, or the third

/296 cont./

765 589 If it is a woman who is widowed, it is the law of the race that she must observe mourning for a period of one year, without it being permitted to shorten this period for any pretext whatsoever. After having wept for her departed husband for a whole [302] day and after the burial is over, as has been said, she cuts off her hair and deposits it on the grave, where it remains for a long time, which I have not established exactly. This is the best 589 765 offering that a widow can make to her late husband, and whether 597 or not she loved him, it is a law which she must observe; otherwise she would incur the scorn of the people of the town, who 302 would wonder at her conduct, she would lose her reputation, and the relatives of the deceased would resent it very much: they would take the children whom she loves so much away from her, and it would be hard for her to remarry.

765 589 [292] As a sign of mourning, a loving widow, as well as one who is not, finds the dirtiest and most ragged piece of cloth that she has in the house and puts it on her head: she wears this during the entire period of her widowhood. One who arrives in a Chiriguano town for the first time will wonder about this piece of apparel and ask about its significance, because there is always some woman who is wearing mourning for her husband, her son, or her brother, if it is not for her father or mother. Finally, the widow is condemned to cry day and night for one long year, and one who does not cry as she should incurs the wrath of the relatives of the dead man. When I was a missionary in Santa Rosa, the cacique Yaritu died of nothing less than malignant smallpox. The widow cried for him so much and so loudly at the beginning that very soon she became hoarse. Nonetheless, the relatives complained of her actions, accusing her of little love (2).

2. The weeping during mourning is done by the woman four times a day, at sunrise, noon, sunset, and at some time around midnight. At this last hour it is very sad.

/297/ If while asleep they sometimes dream of the dead one, very soon the widow, or whoever the dreamer is, gets up and makes a commotion, which lasts for several minutes. Also, when one

6: Nordenskiöld--65 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chirigsano SF 10
Chane SF 8

Ee 531

/212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Ee 512

Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

Ee [171]

This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Chuncó or the Matanco.

E 595

Among the Chané and Chirigsano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

C [543]

Ee [586]

Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

E. 582

/214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chirigsano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Chuncó. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

C 577 177 797 831

C [837]

C 577 834 175

The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1725 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. xiii.

6: Nordenskiöld--66 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/214 cont./

entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion which I shall reproduce here verbatim:

"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme le moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai vu sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

/what surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

6: Nordenskiöld--78 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chané SF 8

C
Ce
834
171

/225 cont./

Nevertheless, if in the evening one sat beside the fire in the hut and was acquainted with the family, they seemed to be quite free and easy. The Choroti and Ashluslay men are very shameless. The men among the Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, less so. It is very common for the Chiriguano and Chané women, convening in a group, to pass water standing up and to let the urine run down their legs, which may be regarded as less than clean. The men, on the other hand, always step aside in order to relieve themselves.

C
Ce
[574]

C
Ce
833
171
834

/226/ As has been mentioned, the sexual act among the Ashluslay often takes place in the presence of onlookers. At the Choroti /Fig. 114 appears here/ dances one had to be careful in the darkness not to stumble over the loving couples. One never sees anything like that among the Chiriguano or Chané. Since many /227/ are lying in the same hut, however, one sees even among them what one always sees if one has overnight guests. This is not the least reason why the sexual life has no secrets even for small children.

C
Ce
834
177
577

Apparently life with the whites heightens the sense of modesty. The Indian women are even embarrassed to expose their breasts. Morality declines in proportion as the sense of modesty grows.

This should be taken into consideration by all those who sew clothing for naked heathen children.

Ee
121

Many of my readers may perhaps feel that this chapter should not have been included in my book. Nevertheless, it seems to me proper to say something about deviations in the sexual sphere. It contributes to an understanding of the people whom I am describing here. I have, of course, not been able to speak about all the realism that came out in the conversations around the camp fire (1).

1. If our daily papers, which are meant for the public, write about all kinds of things, one need not be too prudish in a travel account.